

military services of both countries will make their military-to-military dialogues more intense and frequent.

These are good, constructive agreements that will serve the interest of both countries. It is quite clear, however, that a great deal of work lies ahead. Our goal should not only be to avoid crises and find common ground on areas of concern to both countries, but to solve problems.

Here, we saw relatively little advance in two critical areas, and one is international trade.

TASKS AHEAD: TRADE

Last month, China passed Japan as the source of our largest trade deficit—and this in a year when our deficit with Japan has risen substantially over last year's totals. And the main reason for this deficit is the fact United States exports to China have been flat for 3 years: \$11.7 billion last year, \$11.7 billion last year, on track for the same this year. During this period, of course, China's economy has grown by about 30 percent.

Our strategy for change has been to encourage China's membership in the World Trade Organization on commercially acceptable grounds.

That is the right strategy. I believe that China should have permanent MFN status when it occurs. But the progress on WTO membership has been so slow this year—even with the incentive of the first United States-China summit since President Bush visited China nearly 9 years ago—that we need to begin thinking about a fall-back option.

That is, China may well have concluded that the status quo is acceptable for the time being—that the price for entering the WTO in terms of trade reform is higher than the price for remaining outside.

If so, we need to change that calculus. I suggest as one possibility that the administration begin to think about self-initiating a broad section 301 case, as the Bush administration did in 1991. This would tackle some of the main trade problems we are focusing on in the WTO accession talks.

This is obviously a less attractive, less cooperative approach than the WTO accession. But we have already waited 8 years for China to make a good WTO offer, and we cannot afford to wait very much longer. We remain very much open to imports from China, while China keeps out our wheat, our manufactures, our services, and all the rest.

It is not fair, and our legitimate complaints about market access cannot be held hostage forever to WTO entry.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The second is human rights.

Since World War II, we have viewed human rights practices within nations as intimately linked to the willingness of governments to use force and coercion outside their borders. We have also seen promotion of human rights as a humanitarian, nonpolitical responsibility that all of us hold.

I agree with both of those considerations. I believe they apply in China as well as in other countries. And I am disappointed by the lack of any significant change in Chinese policy, especially on the political prisoner question, during this summit. As we look to the future, though, I believe we need to remember three things.

First, broad long-term trends in most areas are good. During the past decade, the number of political prisoners in China has fallen from about 5,000 to about 2,500; controls on information in a number of once-sensitive areas like official corruption and workplace abuses have relaxed; and China has taken steps like introducing village elections that have made the political system somewhat more accountable.

Second, we should set limited, achievable goals where we do not see a great deal of progress. These should include freedom for dissidents like Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan; a clear public accounting of the number of people jailed for strictly political reasons; talks with the Dalai Lama; and so forth. Short of areas like rule of law or parliamentary procedure, in which China is seeking our assistance, human rights policy should not include very broad, ambitious efforts to change the Chinese political system. Such efforts would be seen not as humanitarian in nature, but either as an effort to overthrow the Chinese Government, or more likely a rhetorical policy without much serious content.

And third, human rights is a long-term issue. The keys to success are patience and persistence. We will need to continue raising the cases of individuals held in prison with Chinese officials, continue our work in areas like the U.N. Human Commission on Human Rights next spring. We need to be persistent and don't give up.

THE ROAD FORWARD

In the broader sense, with the summit behind us our next steps in China policy are clear.

We have set a good foundation in the political and security arena. We have done a good job in identifying other areas of mutual interest, from environmental protection to nuclear plant sales to the rule of law. We need to keep at these issues; and we need to work harder in areas like market access and human rights, where this summit brought less than we would have hoped for. And we should avoid reckless steps like broad new sanctions laws which are likely to make things worse rather than better.

On the whole, we are on the right course and we should stay there. Step by step, issue by issue, we are getting the results we should seek in China policy—a stable peace in Asia; fairness in trade; respect for international standards of human rights; and cooperation in areas of mutual interest like the environment. This summit has made a very important contribution to the effort, and I look for it to continue.

Madam President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNIZING NATIONAL ADOPTION MONTH AND INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Madam President, I thank the Chair for this opportunity to recognize the month of November as National Adoption Month and to speak on this very important issue—one that is very close to my heart—and is at the very heart of my own family.

As legislators, we work to enact laws to improve and protect the lives of the American people.

However, there are occasions when our policies can hurt the very people we are trying to protect. In this instance, it is our children.

Last year, in my State of Oregon, 221 parents adopted children from foreign countries, including China, Romania, Korea, India, and Thailand.

During that same year, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act that included a provision which, until now, seemed rather innocuous.

But for parents like Gary and Laurie Hunter from Myrtle Creek, OR, who are adopting a daughter from China, it has become a bitter pill in the adoption process.

Simply, the provision requires that all incoming immigrants receive certain immunizations before entering the United States.

While this may seem like a logical public health law, it raises serious concerns about the health and safety of children receiving vaccinations under substandard conditions in foreign countries.

Many of these countries do not practice the same sanitary health conditions as the United States.

For example, some countries lack adequate medical records for children living in orphanages and do not have access to sufficient supplies of sterile needles, creating an even greater risk to the health of young adoptive children entering the United States.

Today, I am proud to be a part of a Senate which has passed legislation, H.R. 2464, to repeal the provision requiring immunizations prior to entry into the United States, and protect the children who have yet to become citizens of this country.

This bill will exempt internationally adopted children 10 years of age or younger from the immunization requirement, and allow parents 30 days to immunize their children.

Importantly, immunization will not occur overseas in an orphanage, or in

an immigration office, but upon entering the United States, under the supervision of a family physician in a safe environment.

There is a tradition in the Senate, to begin the day with a prayer from the Senate Chaplain.

Today, I would like to take a moment to end my statement with a short phrase from the Common Book of Prayer, a phrase that I hope will encourage and inspire my colleagues in these last few days of the 105th Congress to continue the work which we have been charged to do by the American people:

We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done.

Madam President, I am proud to stand before my colleagues today to say that with the passage of this important legislation, we have done those things which we ought to have done. I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BYRD. What is the order of business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is conducting morning business and Senators are permitted to speak up to 10 minutes. There is also an additional order in which the time is controlled by Senator HELMS up until the hour of 10:30.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. I ask unanimous consent that the 30 minutes set aside for four Senators be postponed until the Senator from West Virginia completes his remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I express my gratitude to my friend, JESSE HELMS, for his characteristic courtesy and his gracious request to allow me to proceed at this point. I will try not to be overly long.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, William Manchester, writing in the book, "The Glory and the Dream," would call the year 1932 "the cruellest year." I was in the 10th grade at Mark Twain High School at Stotesbury in Raleigh County, southern West Virginia. Living in a coal miner's home, I saw and felt the Great Depression firsthand. School-

teachers often had to reduce their monthly paychecks by several percentage points in order to get the checks cashed. The newspapers frequently carried stories of men who had jumped out of windows or pressed a cocked pistol to their temples, taking their lives because they had lost their lifetime savings, and their economic world had come crashing down around them.

Very few men in and around the coal fields had ever owned an automobile, and those who were fortunate enough to possess an automobile jacked it up off the ground and mounted the axles on railroad crossties to keep the tires from rotting while enough money could be saved to pay for a new license plate. Many children went to bed hungry at night, their families destitute.

The country had hit rock bottom, and West Virginia was one of the "rock bottomest" of the States. It is hard to imagine that things could have gotten much worse in southern West Virginia. There was little left but hope, and there was not much of that, hardly enough to go around.

President Hoover, against whom I would still be campaigning 20 years later, professed to ignore the crisis as a "depression," he being convinced that a "balanced budget" was the most essential factor leading to an economic recovery. He still wore a black tie at dinner in the White House, even when the only other person dining with him was his wife, Lou.

Creature comforts were rare. Air conditioning was unknown, as were automatic dishwashers, electric toothbrushes, cassette recorders, garbage disposal units, electric can openers, vacuum cleaners, power mowers and record players. Phonographs were wound with a crank by hand. The family wash was done by hand on a washboard. Wet clothes were hung on a clothesline with clothespins to dry in the wind, and a refrigerator was simply an icebox kept filled by a man who knew how many pounds of ice a housewife wanted because she notified him by placing on the kitchen screen door a card with the number "100," "75," "50" or "25" turned up. Heavy irons for pressing clothes were heated on the coal-burning kitchen stove. Houseflies were always a summer problem, and the only preventives were spray guns and flypaper.

We were not used to much, and if we had never had much to begin with, we did not miss it.

Most of the coal miners by the year 1932 had a radio in their homes. It was a Majestic, an Atwater Kent or a Philco. At my house, a small Philco radio sat on a wall shelf, and it was there that we gathered on Saturday nights to listen to the Grand Ole Opry that was broadcast from Nashville, TN. I heard the "Solemn Old Judge," the "Fruit Jar Drinkers," DeFord Bailey on his harmonica, the Delmore Brothers, Roy Acuff, Minnie Pearl from "Grinders Switch," Sam and Kirk McGree and Uncle Dave Macon picking the banjo "clawhammer style."

On some Saturday nights, I would play the fiddle at a small but lively square dance held somewhere in a coal camp where I lived or in a neighboring community. Times were bad, but life had to go on, and a Saturday night frolic helped to keep the spirits up.

Madam President, in that year 1932, a writer for the Saturday Evening Post asked John Maynard Keynes, the great British economist, whether there had ever been anything like the Depression before. "Yes," he replied. "It was called the Dark Ages and it lasted four hundred years." This was calamity howling on a cosmic scale, but on at least one point the resemblance seemed valid. In each case the people were victims of forces that they could not understand.

Mr. President, in that same year of 1932, there was born a child in Massachusetts, and his name was EDWARD KENNEDY. In 1932, of course, I knew nothing about EDWARD KENNEDY or EDWARD KENNEDY's birth. But today I rise on this Senate floor to salute one of the outstanding Senators in the history of this great body. He is a man whose expertise, hard work, and courage have set a lofty example to which every fledgling Senator should aspire.

On November 6, 1962, EDWARD KENNEDY was elected to the Senate, and so he is celebrating his 35th anniversary and we are celebrating the 35th anniversary of his arrival in the Senate.

I well remember the arrival of young EDWARD KENNEDY in this Chamber. Having been elected in 1962 at the age of 30, he was one of the youngest Members in Senate history.

While Senator KENNEDY may not have been the youngest Senator ever, he was certainly one of the youngest. Despite his youth, however, much was expected of this young man and I suspect that some may have wondered whether he was really up to the challenge. After all, Senator KENNEDY was representing a State that had provided the Senate with some of its most memorable figures, among them Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, and Charles Sumner. In addition, Senator KENNEDY was elected to finish the term of the then current President, who was none other than his brother. When one remembers that another Kennedy brother was then Attorney General of the United States, one realizes why Senator KENNEDY was accorded rather more attention than the average freshman Senator.

I am gratified to report that, far from falling short of these grand expectations, Senator KENNEDY has exceeded them. He became an innovative and productive legislator. He also embarked on a path from which he has never varied: championing the interests of the working people, the poor, and the disadvantaged. His tenure as chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources during the 100th Congress was remarkable, both in the sheer volume of legislation that he sponsored and in the dedication that he displayed to improving the education and health of all Americans.